

NOT READY FOR HILLARY
TERRY TEMPEST WILLIAMS ON GUNS

The Progressive

March 2014

An Interview With Bill Moyers

by Peter Dreier

Marygrove College Library
8425 West McNichols Road
Detroit, MI 48221

2E0
9292
E833
502

#PROM-10 *****ALTO**SCH 5-DIGIT 48220

76

D

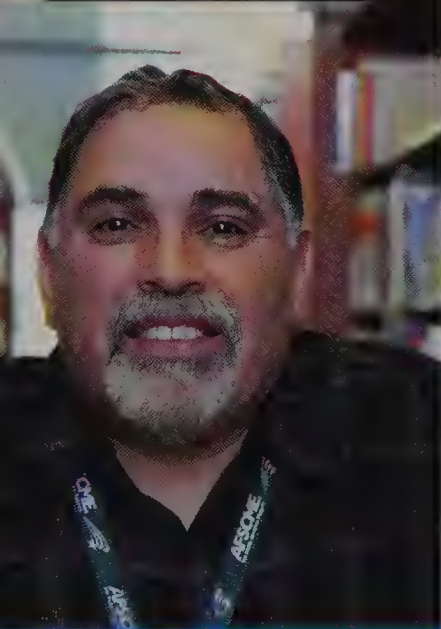
B

N

#

ZINA SAUNDERS





We're All in This Together.

A Message from America's Public Service Workers

Sometimes, it's important to take a step back. During the past few years, we saw an unprecedented assault on the poor as well as working and middle-class Americans. This Koch-backed and tea party-led class war claimed a number of casualties. There is an ever-growing chasm between the very richest Americans and everyone else. Today, the top 1 percent of Americans control 35 percent of the wealth.

Yet, there are signs of progress. And they are rooted in our coming together as a progressive community and understanding that we're all in this together. In New Jersey and SeaTac, Wash., voters approved a minimum wage increase. In Ohio, Cincinnati voters rejected a proposal to gut retirement security for workers. And this November, candidates who believe in shared prosperity won elections to city councils, county commissions and school boards across America.

This is what happens when communities unite at the local level, when citizens have a direct say on the laws that impact their lives.

The battle to right the wrongs of income inequality is not — and cannot be — just a union issue. It is an issue for every American, union or non-union, white or of color, young or senior, straight or gay. Income inequality is a battle for the very heart and soul of our nation.

The 1.6 million members of AFSCME thank our brothers and sisters in the progressive community who continue to stand with us. We will continue to stand with you. Because we're all in this together.


AFSCME
We Make America Happen

afscme.org



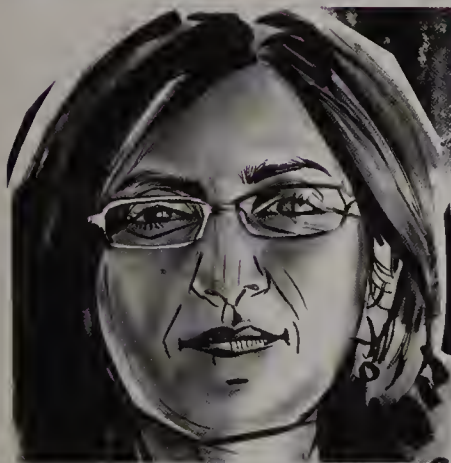
March 2014

Volume 78, Number 3

19 Cover



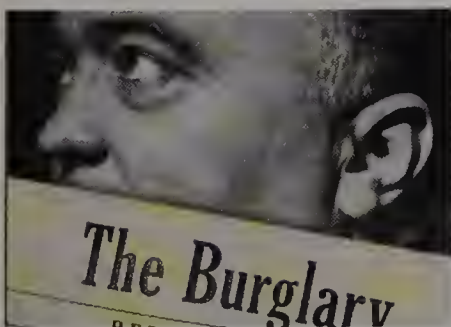
8



13



25



27

4 Editor's Note

5 No Comment

6 Comment Stopping the Giant Sucking Sound

8 On the Line

11 Terry Tempest Williams wakes up to gunshots in the night.

Features

13 Socialist in Seattle *John Nichols*

A new city councilor is an unabashed radical.

16 Not Ready for Hillary *Abby Scher*

Young feminists are reluctant to climb aboard the Clinton bandwagon.

Cover Interview

19 Bill Moyers *Peter Dreier*

"I'm angry at what's happening to our country and angry with myself that I can't do more," says the TV legend.

24 Dave Zirin calls a foul on soccer.

25 Will Durst marvels at the size of Chris Christie's catastrophe.

26 Poem *Sofia Snow*

27 Books Chip Berlet reviews *The Burglary: The Discovery of J. Edgar Hoover's Secret FBI*, by Betty Medsger.

30 Jim Hightower issues a warning on antibiotics.

EDITOR
Ruth Conniff

SENIOR EDITOR
Matthew Rothschild

MANAGING EDITOR
Amitabh Pal

WEB EDITOR
Stephen C. Webster

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS

David Barsamian, Kate Clinton, Christopher D. Cook, Anne-Marie Cusac, Edwidge Danticat, Susan J. Douglas, Will Durst, Barbara Ehrenreich, Eduardo Galeano, Jim Hightower, Fred McKissack Jr., John Nichols, Adolph Reed Jr., Luis J. Rodriguez, Terry Tempest Williams, Dave Zirin

ACTING ART DIRECTOR
Nikki Willoughby Powell

PROOFREADERS
Diana Cook, Jodi Vander Molen

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD
Ben H. Bagdikian, Barbara Ehrenreich, Martin Espada, Richard Falk, Colman McCarthy, Robert W. McChesney, Jane Slaughter, Urvashi Vaid, Roger Wilkins

PUBLISHER
Matthew Rothschild

CIRCULATION DIRECTOR
Maribeth Batcha

CIRCULATION MANAGER
Erin Grunze

CONTROLLER
Carolyn Eschmeyer

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTOR
Jodi Vander Molen

WEB MASTER
Tamara Turkan

PROGRESSIVE MEDIA PROJECT
Matthew Rothschild and Amitabh Pal, Co-editors
Andrea Potter, Development Director

VOLUNTEERS
Judy Adrian, Pat DiBiase, Carol Lobes, Richard Russell

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Matthew Rothschild, Chairman
Gina Carter, James Friedman,
Stacey Herzog, Andrea Potter, Jenny Pressman

This issue of *The Progressive*, Volume 78, Number 3, went to press on February 4.

Editorial correspondence should be addressed to *The Progressive*, 409 East Main Street, Madison, WI 53703, or to editorial@progressive.org. Unsolicited manuscripts will be returned only if accompanied by sufficient postage.

Subscription rates: U.S. - One year \$32; Two years \$52; Canadian - One year \$42; Two years \$72; Foreign - One year \$47; Two years \$82. Libraries and institutions - One year (Domestic) \$50; (Canadian) \$67; (Foreign) \$98. Send all subscription orders and correspondence to: *The Progressive*, P.O. Box 392, Oregon, IL 61061. For problems with subscriptions, call toll-free 1-800-827-0555.

The Progressive is published monthly. Copyright ©2014 by *The Progressive*, Inc., 409 East Main Street, Madison, WI 53703. Telephone: (608)257-4626. Publication number (ISSN 0033-0736). Periodicals postage paid at Madison, WI, and additional mailing offices. Printed in the U.S.A. *The Progressive* is indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Magazine Index, Alternative Press Index, Book Review Index, Environmental Periodicals Bibliography, Media Review Index, Academic Abstracts, Magazine Article Summaries, and Social Science Source. *The Progressive* is available on microfilm from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, and on compact discs and other optical, magnetic, or electronic media from the H.W. Wilson Company, 950 University Avenue, Bronx, NY 10452. For permission to photocopy material from *The Progressive*, please contact the Copyright Clearance Center, Customer Service, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923; (978)750-8400.

Donations: *The Progressive* survives on donations from readers. Contributions are tax-exempt when you itemize. Mail checks to *The Progressive*, 409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703.

Postmaster: Send address changes to: *The Progressive*, 409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703.

www.progressive.org

Editor's Note Ruth Conniff

Inspiring Activists

In this issue of the magazine, we are delighted to have Peter Dreier's interview with the great Bill Moyers.

It was a relief to Moyers's many fans when he reconsidered his retirement as host of his weekly television show, *Moyers & Company*.

In the interview, you'll see why he is hopeful that citizens can overthrow "the pirates and predators of Wall Street [who have] seized the ship of state."

Also in this issue, Abby Scher brings us the voices of young women around the country who are not "Ready for Hillary." These feminist activists, who hoped to draft Elizabeth Warren, continue to hold out for something better than another corporate Democrat.

In our On The Line section, we cover some exciting campaigns that are successfully moving our country in a more progressive direction.

For instance, Pentagon workers' demands for a higher minimum wage helped propel President Obama's executive order to up federal contract workers' pay to \$10.10 an hour.

And the tenacious activists who crammed Congressional hearing rooms, passed local ordinances, and got out in the streets to try to stop the Trans-Pacific Partnership already have derailed fast track and thrown sand in the gears of the pro-corporate, anti-democratic trade machine in Washington. (More on this in Comment.)

We lost an old friend when Pete Seeger passed away in January at the age of ninety-four.

Senior editor Matt Rothschild wrote a lovely tribute to Seeger, which you can read on our website

at www.progressive.org.

The songs Pete sang—"We Shall Overcome," "Which Side Are You On," "This Land Is Your Land"—sustained strikers, protesters, and marchers for civil rights, peace, and social justice for generations, including those who gathered in Madison, Wisconsin, to oppose the rightwing government of Scott Walker.

Seeger was wrong about Bob Dylan's electric guitar. But, then, Seeger never hawked products in a Superbowl ad. And he never let fame go to his head.

"I'm just as dumb as the next banjo picker," he told *The Progressive* in 1986.

He took the same humble, gentle tone in his historic testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1955. Humorous but firm in his commitment not to name names, Seeger told the Committee he would be glad to talk about his songs, but, "I decline to discuss, under compulsion, where I have sung, and who has sung my songs, and who else has sung with me, and the people I have known."

For his refusal to take part in the witch hunt, Seeger was blacklisted for the rest of the 1950s and much of the 1960s. But he never grew bitter.

A believer in the power of music and the wisdom of ordinary, working people, Seeger told *The Progressive*, "I'd like to persuade everybody everywhere to make some music."

Along with Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger set the great social movements of the last century of American history to song. We will be singing those songs for a long time to come.

Thank you, Pete. ♦

No Comment

Accidents Happen

Kentucky state representative Leslie Combs, a Democrat, was unloading her handgun in her legislative office when it went off accidentally. "I'm a gun owner," Combs said, according to the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. "It happens."



Free Ammo to Honor Sandy Hook Victims

Gregory Beck posted on Facebook that he was going to pass out free ammunition to honor Sandy Hook victims. Beck was a school board member of Brookfield, Connecticut, a town adjacent to the Sandy Hook Elementary School. After a controversy erupted, he resigned.

The Executioner's Budget

Wyoming state senator Bruce Burns has introduced a bill allowing the use of a firing squad to execute prisoners if the state couldn't use lethal injection, reports *Huffington Post*. "One of the reasons I chose firing squad as opposed to any other form of execution is because, frankly, it's one of the cheapest for the state," Burns said.



Procreation=Job Creation

Representative Bob Goodlatte, Republican of Virginia, marked up a bill denying tax subsidies to women if the insurance they obtain covers abortion and justified it by suggesting job growth could happen if women have more babies. "It is very much the case that those of us in the majority support this legislation because it's the morally right thing to do, but it also is very, very true that having a growing population and having new children brought into the world is not harmful to job creation," said Goodlatte. "It very much promotes job creation for all the care and services and so on that need to be provided by a lot of people to raise children."



Going on the Offensive

The Tau Kappa Epsilon chapter at Arizona State University is facing suspension after it threw a Martin Luther King Day party with watermelon cups, reports KVVU-TV. Pictures of the party show fraternity members and guests dressed in basketball jerseys and flashing gang signs.

Mob Clean-Up Crew

The Japanese mob is hiring homeless people to clean up the nuclear disaster at Fukushima, Reuters reports. According to police accounts, homeless men were rounded up at a local train station, then put to work clearing radioactive soil in Fukushima City for less than minimum wage.

NSA Should Spy on Progressives

The rightwing group Accuracy in Media thinks the NSA should spy on progressive lawmakers like Senator Bernie Sanders, reports *Raw Story*. "Not one article has dared to ask whether Sanders and other 'progressive' members of Congress should be under surveillance because of their contacts with foreign intelligence agencies," wrote Cliff Kincaid, director of the Accuracy in Media Center for Investigative Journalism.

God's Will Be Done

Senator James Inhofe, Republican of Oklahoma, interrupted the debate about extending unemployment insurance to discuss climate change, which he doesn't believe is caused by humans. "Let's go back. When you look back in history, and you look at these cycles, you have to come to the conclusion that God is still up there," Inhofe said.

What Evidence?

The City of Memphis is being sued for allegedly throwing away or losing thousands of rape kits that went untested for decades, reports *Jezebel*. A class action suit has been filed against the city for failing to submit more than 15,000 rape kits for testing. An unidentified woman, who was the victim of rape and is a resident of Memphis, claims she waited thirteen years for her rape kit to be tested, and at that point the evidence had spoiled.

Readers are invited to submit No Comment items. Please send original clippings or photocopies and give name and date of publication. Submissions cannot be acknowledged or returned.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY STUART GOLDENBERG

Stopping the Giant Sucking Sound

Twenty years ago, President Bill Clinton pushed through the North American Free Trade Agreement.

In his 1994 State of the Union address, Clinton celebrated, calling NAFTA and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) “the building blocks of our recovery.” The trade deals would mean “more jobs and rising living standards for the American people,” Clinton declared, adding, “There is no turning back.”

In fact, NAFTA ushered in two decades of job flight, as American manufacturers shifted production to Mexico. Whole communities collapsed. The rise of a low-wage service-sector economy helped propel dramatic inequality.

The data on worker displacement after NAFTA reads “like a funeral program for the middle class,” wrote former Congressman David Bonior, Democrat of Michigan, in a recent op-ed in *The New York Times*.

Nor has NAFTA benefited us, on balance, when it comes to trade.

The average annual growth of the U.S. trade deficit has been 45 percent higher with our NAFTA partners Mexico and Canada than with countries that are not party to a similar deal.

President Obama, in his 2014 State of the Union Address, which dwelt on efforts to reduce inequality and rebuild the middle class, slipped in a few discordant lines promoting the giant trade agreements he is seeking to fast track.

Note the stark difference between Obama’s passing reference to the Trans-Pacific Partnership and Clinton’s full-throated promotion of NAFTA.

That difference is the result of twenty years of hard experience. While it is still an article of faith on Wall Street that corporate trade deals benefit multinational corporations and workers alike, the American public is not buying it. Polls show that Americans oppose these deals by margins of 60 to 80 percent.

“If transparency would lead to widespread public opposition to a trade agreement, then that trade agreement should not be the policy of the United States.”

—Senator Elizabeth Warren in a letter to then-U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk.

And a movement that first showed its strength when protesters disrupted the 1999 World Trade Organization negotiations in Seattle has only grown.

“The movement of movements that first came together during the Battle in Seattle is back to fight the TPP and fast track,” says Arthur Stamoulis, executive director of

the Citizens Trade Campaign. “Labor, environmental, family farm, student, Internet freedom groups, and others are actively working with one another to fight corporate power grabs disguised as trade agreements.”

More than fifty demonstrations across North America, including a march by 100,000 citizens in Mexico City, protested the legacy of NAFTA on its twentieth anniversary and voiced opposition to backroom deal-making in the TPP.

Organized citizen opposition has stopped more than a dozen trade agreements over the last ten years, including the Millennial and Doha rounds of the WTO, the Free Trade Area of the Americas, and the Multilateral Agreement on Investments.

People have realized that these “free trade” agreements are not really about trade. They are about things like financial deregulation and relaxing food safety standards to enhance corporate profits.

“All the things corporations want and can’t get in the United States they try to get in these agreements,” Marc Weisbrot, co-director of the Center for Economic Policy Research, told NPR’s Tom Ashbrook recently.

While the TPP would accomplish a laundry list of corporate goals including extending the life of patents and weakening privacy protections on electronic data, a report by the pro-TPP Peterson Institute found it would have almost no real benefit to the overall U.S. economy.

The Center for Economic Policy Research says that the Peterson Institute’s finding that the TPP could boost U.S. GDP by 0.13 percent is the equivalent of a “rounding error.” The Center’s own study also shows that whatever modest benefits to the U.S. economy come from the TPP would be concentrated in the hands of the richest 5 to 10 percent of households, while the bottom 90 percent of America families would experience a net economic loss.

Under the TPP, corporations can sue governments directly before a tribunal of international trade lawyers over regulations that reduce their expected profits.

“This whole idea of reducing expected profits can mean anything from improved environmental standards to increasing the minimum wage to health and safety regulations,” explains David Newby, former president of the Wisconsin AFL-CIO and current president of the Wisconsin Fair Trade Council, which helped pass the first local ordinances against the TPP.

“Anything that benefits workers, the environment, or the

general population is going to reduce their profits,” Newby adds. The TPP “cuts off our possibilities of improving our own quality of life and standard of living.”

Citizen alarm over this attack on democracy led to the movement to resist the TPP.

“People recognize the dangers,” says Stamoulis. “There are so many issues. That’s why it’s a movement of movements,” he adds. “No one movement can do it alone, but together we have the power to take on the corporations and their government allies.”

Twenty-three different organizations working with the Citizens Trade Campaign sent hundreds of thousands of e-mails and made thousands of calls to Congress. These groups included not just progressives but tea partiers and libertarians who also joined in.

Dr. Margaret Flowers, former president of Physicians for a National Health Program and a leader of FlushTheTPP.org, dressed up as a construction worker to hang a giant sign on the U.S. Trade Representative’s office last September, decrying the secret trade negotiations going on inside.

The trade deal would undermine single payer health care systems in other countries, Flowers warned, and make drugs and medical devices more expensive, increasing suffering for people everywhere.

“Last summer, a lot of us were very discouraged because we couldn’t get any traction in terms of media coverage,” says Newby. “There’s still not really any media, but word has gotten out because of public events, and it really has changed the dynamic.”

Wikileaks released part of the secret draft text for the TPP, the first-ever trade deal to be classified under U.S. secrecy laws. U.S. government officials, including former Trade Representative Ron Kirk, explained that if the agreement were not classified, public opposition might kill it. But more than 600 corporate advisers had access to the treaty’s text, including Halliburton, Monsanto, Walmart, and Chevron.

“Why is this agreement so secret?” Weisbrot asks. “Why is everything we know about it from Wikileaks? And why did members of Congress have to fight to get access to the details of the agreement?”

Why indeed?

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid dealt a body blow to Obama’s trade agenda when he announced that he would refuse to bring fast-track authority for the TPP up for a vote.

The issue for Reid is that fast track subverts Congressional authority.

The Constitution gives Congress, not the President, the power to regulate commerce among nations. Under fast track, Congress has only limited access to the text of trade agreements, and must hold a quick up-or-down vote to give the President the power to sign and negotiate the treaty.



RICHARD BERGE

“I’m against fast track. Everyone knows how I feel about this,” Reid said. “Everyone would be well advised not to push this right now.”

Without fast track, unpopular trade deals such as the TPP don’t stand much chance of passing Congress—especially as the midterm elections near.

The activists who rallied against fast track for the TPP are cautiously optimistic.

“I think we have defeated the current version of fast track,” says Stamoulis. “But by no means has the other side given up. I wouldn’t be surprised to see fast track again under a different name this year.”

It is a risky issue for Democrats, as Bill Clinton found out when Democrats lost control of Congress after they voted to pass NAFTA.

“What you are seeing now is the result of twenty years of education since NAFTA,” Weisbrot remarks.

“I think this is by far the broadest public opposition we’ve ever seen,” Newby says of the pushback on Obama’s trade deals. “It’s very encouraging.”

Thanks to these citizen efforts, we do, in fact, stand a chance of stepping back from the world NAFTA helped usher in. ♦

—Ruth Conniff

“The TPP is about much more than trade. It is a global corporate coup.”

—FlushTheTPP.org



ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA (PENTAGON IN BACKGROUND), JANUARY 22, 2014; PHOTO BY GOOD JOBS NATION

Pentagon Workers Lead the Fight for a Higher Minimum Wage

In January, cleaning and food workers at the Pentagon joined allied non-unionized workers from the Air and Space Museum and other federal buildings in walking off the job to protest the poverty wages they were being paid by federal contractors. That work stoppage was part of a series of actions to increase pressure on President Obama to take executive action to raise the minimum wage. For months, the Congressional Progressive Caucus—led by Raul Grijalva and Keith Ellison—has urged the President to use his statutory powers to increase labor standards for low-wage federal

contract workers, including raising the minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour. On January 28, in his State of the Union address, Obama pledged to do just that.

To learn more, go to goodjobsnation.org and cpc.grijalva.house.gov.

Citizens Stand Up to Fracking

New York is a key battleground in the fight over fracking, the hydraulic fracturing technique that spoils millions of gallons of drinking water to extract the greenhouse gas methane (popularly known as natural gas) from pockets in shale deposits. New Yorkers, young and old, have protested all over the state to ban these intensive drilling operations that also contaminate our air. The accompanying photo was taken in Albany on January 8. Later that month, New York activists won a major delay in the state's decision on fracking until at least April 2015.

To learn more, contact the coalitiontoprotectnewyork.org.



ALBANY, NEW YORK, JANUARY 8, 2014; PHOTO BY DAVE WALCZAK OF BATH, NEW YORK

Rally Against Right to Work in Pennsylvania

Hundreds of workers rallied at the Pennsylvania capitol against Republican legislation that has devastated and defunded public sector unions as part of the corporate agenda of the American Legislative Exchange Council. The house, senate, and governor's office in the Keystone State are held by Republicans, even though voters supported the Obama-Biden ticket for the White House. Governor Tom Corbett (who gets significant support from the oil and gas industry) said he would sign the legislation if it passed. Firefighters, machinists, steelworkers, electricians, teamsters, teachers, and others have said they are determined to stop this latest assault on workers' rights.

For more information: paafcio.org.

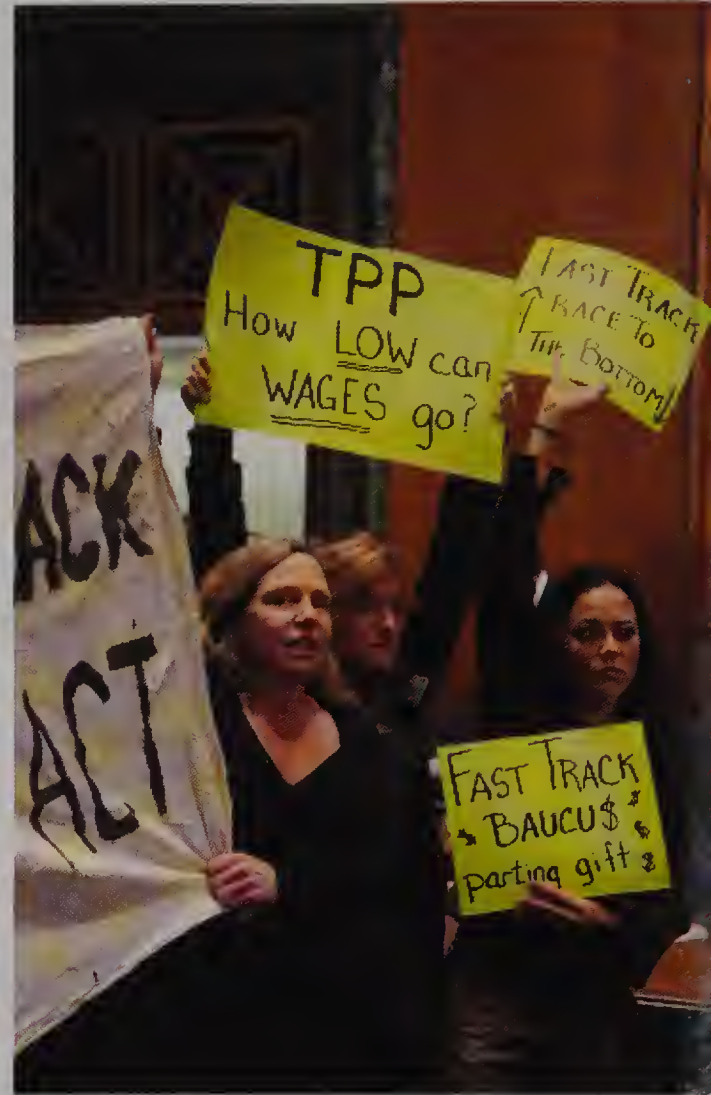


HARRISBURG, PENN., JANUARY 27, 2014; PHOTO BY MARC LEVY FOR THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Flush the TPP

One week after outgoing Senator Max Baucus, Democrat of Montana, held a hearing on legislation (dubbed the “Trade Promotion Authority”) to fast-track trade bills, limiting the power of Congress and citizens to thwart or try to fix them, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid announced he was against the fast-track legislation, despite pressure from the White House and Wall Street. At the hearing chaired by Baucus, who is slated to become the U.S. Ambassador to China, citizens protested the fast track and the controversial Trans-Pacific Partnership, which Lori Wallach of Public Citizen has called worse than NAFTA for Americans’ jobs, rights, and the environment.

To find out more about the TPP and efforts to stop corporate globalization, go to: citizen.org/TPP.



WASHINGTON, DC, JANUARY 16, 2014; PHOTOS BY TED MAJDOSZ

Overturn *Citizens United*

On the fourth anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court’s devastating ruling in *Citizens United v. FEC*, pro-democracy groups renewed their call to amend the Constitution to overturn that decision, which equated money with speech. As People for the American Way, Public Citizen, Free Speech for People, Common Cause, the Center for Media and Democracy, U.S. PIRG, Demos, Public Campaign, Move to Amend, and other groups have noted, that judicial decree by the most rightwing court in decades has dramatically increased the political power of corporations and CEOs, like the billionaire Koch Brothers, in U.S. elections. *Citizens United* has flooded our elections with hundreds of millions in “dark money” that is distorting our democracy. The 2012 races were “the most expensive elections in the history of the world,” according to Lisa Graves of the Center for Media and Democracy. As People for the American Way observed: “Americans don’t want a democracy that operates like an auction. Sixteen states and 500 cities and towns have called for a constitutional amendment to overturn the *Citizens United* decision and related cases to put our democracy back into the hands of the people.”

For more information: united4thepeople.org.



PHOTO BY RICK WILKING

A Dozen Gunshots

Last night as I was reading, I heard a dozen gunshots outside my window. I know the number because I counted them. *Pop-pop-pop*, pause, *pop-pop-pop-pop*, another pause, and then, the rapid fire *pop-pop-pop-pop-pop*. Then, nothing.

My heart was racing with my own succession of questions, quickly followed by plausible answers.

What was it? A gun.

Where was it? At the school across the road?

Who was it? A student? A neighbor?

Who should I call? I call my husband, Brooke, in Castle Valley, Utah. Wish he was with me in Wyoming. Tell him what happened and asked what I should do.

Call the sheriff, he said.

Chett Hooper. I will not call Chett Hooper.

What if I imagined it? I did not imagine it.

But my reflex to discount what I know and what I hear took hold of me. Maybe it was firecrackers, I thought. No, they were bullets. I have fired enough guns to know the difference. Yes, they were gunshots.

We hang up and I wonder if people are dead and dying. I do nothing. I am scared, listen to every creak, and, eventually, fall asleep.

My morning mind says maybe it was someone scaring off a bear or coyote. Maybe someone shot the coyote

twelve times out of rage, just because they could. If it had been a wolf, someone might have shot it thirteen times because they believe wolves are cursed. In Wyoming, wolves divide people, like politics and religion.

And then, I thought about how the violence against animals transfers so easily to humans.

ty of people must feel the same way—to destroy something, to hurt, to maim, to wound is a God-given right. It's the shotgun side of creation. Shooting a gun looks as easy and as inconsequential as picking up a pen and writing a complaint, an annoyance, a random comment for effect.

Until, you see blood. Until, you realize your weapon of choice can hurt someone.

This is what I woke up thinking after a night of gunshots, which is why I try not to talk to anyone until after noon.

My mind wandered to violence, in general. If Rwanda is known as "The Land of a Thousand Hills," then, surely, America can be seen abroad as "The Land of a Billion Guns."

I remember being at the Salt Lake airport to pick up Louis Gakumba, a student from Rwanda who stepped off the plane from Kigali and took his first steps in the United States of America shortly after thirty-two people had been murdered at Virginia Tech.

The date was April 16, 2007. It was the deadliest shooting rampage by a single gunman in American history. I

wondered how I could shield him from the news. It was both a tragedy and a cliché. His mother had warned him to be careful: America was a dangerous place.

Columbine is a word now robbed of its beauty. Ironically, the state flower of Colorado is now more aligned with the school killings by two boys dressed in



JOHANNA GOODMAN

Guns. Whoever owns one knows the sense of power extended beyond one's fingers. And if they don't, they shouldn't have one.

"It's the closest we can come to being God," I remember a friend once telling me.

Not my definition of God. But plen-

Terry Tempest Williams is a writer and naturalist. Her most recent book is "When Women Were Birds."

black than a white-petaled joy found in the mountains. This is especially sanguinary, since it was Colorado's schoolchildren who voted for this flower in 1899 to represent their state, seventy-nine years after it was first discovered on Pikes Peak by the climber Edwin James.

Columbine. Virginia Tech. Newtown. No longer quiet communities but killing fields, memorialized yearly by parents holding up photographs of their kids.

Now, add two more young people slain at the shooting at the Columbia Mall in Maryland in a Zumiez shop, a retail store for snowboarders. And here we are, two years after the senseless murder of Trayvon Martin, and the question remains: Have we learned anything about gun violence in America?

I suddenly pictured myself shooting a gun with my father in Nevada. It was a Colt .45, designed for a woman's hand on the frontier, the perfect pistol to deliver a coup de grace, a compassionate deathblow to an animal that might be suffering.

This gun was a gift from my uncle, who had heard me tell a story at a family gathering about a deer that had been strung up on the barbed wire fence outside our house.

I had heard its cries, opened the door, and followed the sounds until I saw the struggle. A deer had tried to jump over the fence and now had a back leg caught between two of the wires. She was flipped over with her nose a few inches from the ground.

I tried to untangle her leg, but the doe was frantic, hanging upside down, writhing in pain, too heavy for me to lift.

I called neighbors, but by the time I found someone who was willing to help her, even put her out of her misery, another neighbor had slit her throat. She was bleeding out.

Later, the same guy who killed her

took her body home, dressed the meat, and turned the doe into venison.

My thoughts turned to the violence of barbed wire and why the iconic fences of the American West so cruelly delineate public lands from private ones.

When I shot the Colt .45, its power startled me with a kick in my hands. The post I was shooting at was splintered. I saw it as bone. This was supposed to be target practice, something fun. But suddenly, wood became bone.

How many westerns did I watch as a kid where the good guys kill the bad guys? A stranger rides into town, and

Bullets flying through the air are as commonplace as starlings exploding through a darkened sky after thunder.

before the movie is over, it's a gun battle on a dusty street. The bad guy dies by a quick draw. It's over. The righteous prevail, until recently.

Guns in the movies move so fast, we don't have time to even think about the victim's mother or children or lover or friends. It's just a body in the story, a character no longer needed to move the film along.

I fired a few more times and then told my father I was comfortable enough with the feel of the gun. I now know how to use it should I ever need to.

We walked back to the car between walls of sage.

"You know I haven't shot anything since Diane died in 1997," Dad said, referring to my mother. In truth, it was even before that. Somehow, my father lost his taste for hunting.

Still in the covers, my thoughts become a line of statistics I had heard from a friend who teaches in Newtown: Every year, approximately 7,500 children are admitted to hospitals in the United States from gunshot wounds and more than 500 will die.

No doubt, I wasn't the only one who heard twelve gunshots last night. They were heard in other parts of America, as well, where bullets flying through the air are as commonplace as starlings exploding through a darkened sky after thunder.

While ago, when Brooke and I turned in the gun of a friend to the local sheriff's department because we feared he might hurt himself, we suddenly found ourselves about to be arrested on felony charges for stealing another man's gun.

"This is Wyoming," the sheriff said. "You can't take a man's gun away."

"Even if he has threatened to kill himself?" I asked.

After a long, uncomfortable discussion, the officer finally understood the matter to be a safety issue, that our friend had just been admitted to the St. John's Hospital for depression and alcoholism.

"We'll keep his gun until he's out, but then he's free to pick it up," the sheriff said.

Is this freedom? Or is this insanity?

Somebody picked up a gun last night.

Someone is picking up a gun tonight.

And I, for one, am not sleeping well. ♦

By John Nichols

Illustration by Johanna Goodman



Socialist in Seattle

The headline on the front page of *The New York Times* announced the election of a socialist in an American city. "Socialism has been given a chance to show its merit," declared a municipal militant, who announced: "We shall make the corporations pay their share of the taxes and shall improve the condition of the laboring men and women of the city." A key supporter of the newly elected radical said, "This is not a victory for the [local] socialists. It is a victory for international socialism."

That was the message from the Milwaukee socialists of 1910. But it could easily have been the message from Kshama Sawant and the Seattle socialists of today.

America has a rich history of socialist politics and policy-making, more often than not at the municipal level, but frequently with a reach that has influenced state and national affairs. It has not been a steady history, however. It has come in

John Nichols is the associate editor of the Capital Times in Madison, Wisconsin, and the Washington correspondent of The Nation. His most recent book, with Robert McChesney, is "Dollarocracy: How the Money and Media Election Complex Is Destroying America." He's also the author of "The 'S' Word: A Short History of an American Tradition . . . Socialism."

fits and starts. Socialists were running cities, sitting in Congress, and forming state legislative caucuses nationwide in the 1910s. They ran up substantial vote totals and influenced the direction of the New Deal in the 1930s and 1940s. As late as 1960, Milwaukee still had a Socialist Party mayor, Frank Zeidler. Two decades after Zeidler finished his last term, in the first year of Ronald Reagan's Presidency, an independent socialist named Bernie Sanders beat the Democrats and Republicans to become the mayor of Burlington, Vermont.

So the history is there.

Unfortunately, America suffers from frequent bouts of amnesia when it comes to socialist and social democratic politics.

As a result, it came as a shock to the punditocracy when Sawant, a community-college professor and Occupy activist, was elected to the Seattle City Council as an open socialist last November.

But it did not surprise Kshama Sawant. "Every time people ask me 'Do you think this country is ready for socialism?' my response is, 'I think it is.' Look at the polls: People are more and more realizing the dysfunction of capitalism and want alternatives," says Sawant, who grabbed headlines in Seattle, across the nation, and around the world when she upset a veteran local Democrat.

Sawant's reference to the polls is instructive. Even as conservative firebrands have imagined that condemning Barack Obama as a foreign-born socialist—against all evidence to the contrary—would turn voters against the President, Americans have been showing more and more interest in socialist and social-democratic responses to economic and political stagnation. In a November 2012 Gallup poll, 39 percent of Americans said they had a positive impression of socialism. Among Americans under thirty, the numbers go higher: 49 percent favorable toward socialism in a 2011 Pew survey, versus a 46 percent favorable figure for capitalism. A majority of African American voters surveyed

by Pew said they had a positive view of socialism, as did 44 percent of Latinos.

Sawant and her supporters recognized that local elections, where campaign spending is generally more restrained and where grassroots work can still make things happen, provided a way to connect with voters who were looking for genuine alternatives to politics as usual.

As a member of Socialist Alternative, a national organization that campaigns "for democratic socialism where ordinary people will have control over our daily lives," Sawant embraces electoral politics—certainly not as the only form of organizing or activism but as a way to put issues into play, to shake things up, and to help people to imagine that "another world is possible."

"How do socialists fight for concrete successes under capitalism? How do we frame our demands?" asks Sawant. "What do we do when we have an electoral position within a capitalist set-up? Should we reject electoral politics entirely as a tactic because that's tainted by capitalism and corporations? Or should we use that and turn it on its head and say that we're going to be unabashedly and unapologetically using this seat to advocate for the interests of working people?"

Sawant is using the seat she's won, unabashedly and unapologetically.

A forty-one-year-old native of the Indian city of Pune, she abandoned a career in computer engineering to pursue an academic and activist path in order to explore "questions of income inequality." Those questions led her to socialist activism and to electoral politics. After running a credible race for the Washington legislature in 2012, in which she won 29 percent of the vote against the Democratic speaker of the statehouse, Sawant and her supporters—many of them veterans of Seattle's muscular Occupy movement—turned their attention to the 2013 municipal election.

Sawant recognized that the only way for an outsider to be heard was to run big. So she did.

"During the campaign itself, we had many political analysts and political pundits telling us that using the word 'socialism' would be a big negative—that being so bold in calling for a \$15-an-hour minimum wage, and all the other demands we were making, would be a negative," she recalls. "We were told we had to be a little reticent about it, we had to finesse it a little bit, we had to fudge the wording a little bit, the messaging a little bit, so that we can keep everyone happy."

She spurned that advice.

"Socialists fight differently," she says. "We recognize that the vast majority of working people are not going to be energized by a campaign or by a platform that does not speak to them. The only kind of campaign and platform that will speak for them is one that is clearly advocating for their interests. And that is something that socialists bring to the table."

Sawant's platform spoke to folks who were simply frustrated with predictable politics—and predictable governance. Most prominent officials and key labor and environmental groups backed the Democratic incumbent, Richard Conlin, despite disappointment with the sixteen-year council veteran on issues such as extending paid sick leave and expanding mass transit.

But a few unions and the Green Party backed the challenger. So did the city's feisty alternative weekly newspaper, *The Stranger*, which argued that "her very presence on the council would help make other council members more effective, simply by adding a little god-damn context to the public debate."

"The argument for Sawant is an argument for balance, for putting just one member on the council who feels no need to pander to the interests of developers and other business 'leaders' who would still have eight other sets of ears on the council eager to hear out their concerns," read one of *The Stranger's* many pieces making the case for the challenger. "It is an argument for electing just one council member who is dedicated to bringing working people

to the table—just one council member who is willing to question our nation's fundamental economic assumptions.”

Sawant did just that shortly after her election, when she appeared before a rally of machinists union members who were being pressured by Boeing to accept deep pension cuts and related givebacks in order to keep the manufacturer in the region.

“Workers have to realize, they have more power than they think,” she declared, arguing that if Boeing were to move operations, the plant should be kept open with machines retooled “to produce mass transit like buses.”

Advocating worker ownership, Sawant told the crowd: “The only response we can have if Boeing executives do not agree to keep the plant here is for the machinists to say, ‘The machines are here. The workers are here. We will do the job. We don’t need the executives.’ The executives don’t do the work; the machinists do.”

A few weeks later, Sawant was just as outspoken at her swearing-in ceremony, denouncing the “gigantic casino of speculation created by the highway robbers on Wall Street” and promising to “do my utmost to represent the disenfranchised and the excluded, the poor and the oppressed—by fighting for a \$15 an hour minimum wage, affordable housing, and taxing the super-rich for a massive expansion of public transit and education.”

The crowd—the largest in memory for an inaugural ceremony—roared when she announced: “I wear the badge of socialist with honor.”

Sawant knows that it will not be all cheering and victory celebrations. She’s prepared to work with colleagues who do not wear the badge of socialism. She recognizes the challenges, and the nuances, of municipal governance. She’s excited to speak with those who disagree with her, and to argue that those who

agree with her should be less cautious.

Sawant sees herself as an organizer—an elected official whose primary task is “reaching out to the working people of Seattle so that they can fight with me,” especially on the signature issue of securing a \$15-an-hour minimum wage for all Seattle workers. And for workers well beyond Seattle.

If the city establishes a \$15 wage either through council action or an initiative vote—as suburban Sea-Tac did in November—Sawant is convinced that it will provide a model for other communities. And a new approach to politics.

“We’ve been hearing from people all over this country, since our campaign succeeded, saying, ‘Wow, I didn’t know this could happen in the United States.’ ”

“It is absolutely my duty to use every opportunity to be outspoken about it. If we are to take what we have achieved here and make it not a ‘one-off’ event but a sign of things to come, then it is important for my voice to reach people well outside Seattle,” says Sawant, who in late January delivered a socialist response to President Obama’s State of the Union address. “We’ve been hearing from people all over this country, since our campaign succeeded, saying, ‘Wow, I didn’t know this could happen in the United States.’ I can’t tell you the number of times I’ve heard from people saying, ‘Hey, can you move here?’ I love hearing that question, not because I am in any position to do that but because it gives me the opportunity to say, ‘You know what that tells me: that you have to do that yourself, in your city.’ ” ♦

Leave a legacy

Help perpetuate your commitment to peace and social justice. Include *The Progressive* in your will. Bequests and life insurance proceeds to *The Progressive* are tax-deductible.

Any gift, large or small, helps us remain independent and not for profit. For more information on including *The Progressive* in your will or life insurance policy, or to inform us that *The Progressive* is already mentioned in your will, please contact us.

Matthew Rothschild
The Progressive, Inc.
409 East Main Street
Madison, WI 53704

Phone: 608/257-4626
Fax: 608-257-3373

Not Ready for Hillary

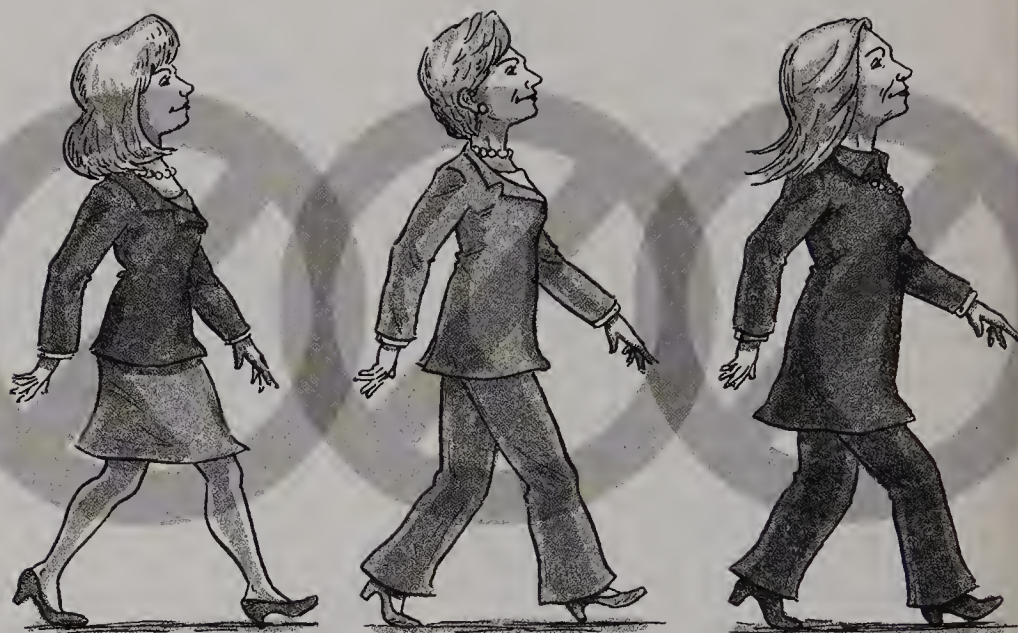
Hillary Clinton suffered from an “enthusiasm gap” in 2008 that cost her the election when Barack Obama captured the enthusiasm of young people and people of color.

But 2016 will be different if Mitch Stewart, a former Obama campaign aide in 2012, and his fellow strategists at the Ready for Hillary PAC succeed. While Clinton has not yet officially said she is running, the Ready for Hillary PAC is independently creating a shadow campaign organization—building mailing lists and positioning staffers—that will be on hand once she does.

Given the potency of the “war on women” campaign of 2012, will young, feminist voters give Hillary another look?

Last spring, *Feministing* founder and author Jessica Valenti wrote of her growing yearning for a woman candidate even though she voted for Obama against Clinton in 2008. “I’ve made a full transition from youthful idealism to jaded orneriness” because of “intractable sexism,” not the least being that “the leading cause of death for pregnant women is murder by a partner.” A woman President wouldn’t create a feminist utopia, she wrote, “but there is something to be said for the power of figureheads.”

Abby Scher is a sociologist and journalist based in New York. She is an associate fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.



The problem is, the activist core of the millennial generation—the young women organizers and leaders of their campus Democratic clubs who help generate the enthusiasm of their peers—may not be interested in supporting a primary candidate who, while holding some liberal positions, once served on the board of Walmart and remains cozy with the Wall Streeters she represented while a U.S. Senator from New York.

That doesn’t mean they aren’t excited about the prospect of a woman President, or that they wouldn’t work hard for Clinton if she made it through the primaries. But they are keeping their options open.

Adriana Cortes is a twenty-five-year-old organizer with Feminist Campus, a project of the Feminist Majority Foundation, and a trendsetter. A native of Watsonville, California, and the daughter of Mexican immigrants, she was an activist at Cal State Fullerton before becoming an organizer for the U.S. Student Association and the Service Employees International Union. Now based in Los Angeles for the Feminist Campus, she says she is “really focused on reproductive

health.” She laughs when asked about her other concerns. “The list is pretty long,” she says. It includes better wages for fast food workers, government violations of Internet privacy, immigration, health care, and access to higher education.

Cortes offers no opinion about Clinton. But she gushes about one person who is not even running for President: Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren.

“She’s amazing! She’s doing a really good job going after bankers and folks who are really responsible for the economic situation we’re in,” says Cortes. “I wish there were more politicians with that kind of integrity.”

Warren’s courage to speak economic truths rarely heard from the well of the Senate resonates with Cortes and other young people who are experiencing an economic assault not seen since the Great Depression. College graduates of all backgrounds are having difficulty finding good jobs. Only 65 percent of millennials are employed, down from 71 percent in 2007 before the big crash. One study found half of those between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine who had jobs were only working part-time.

And they earn peanuts.

More than a third of poverty-wage workers in 2011 were young workers between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, according to the Economic Policy Institute.

They also face a new burden that did not afflict previous generations: Thanks to government disinvestment, they carry the highest student debt ever recorded. Student debt in the United States has exploded from \$200 billion in 2000 to \$1.3 trillion today. The Project on Student Debt recently determined that the class of 2012 took \$29,400 in debt with them, on average, when they received their diplomas. And this figure doesn’t even include graduates of for-profit col-

leges, which don’t release debt data.

No wonder Elizabeth Warren, who has made Wall Street chicanery and the resulting unfair debt burden on students and consumers her cause, is a hero to this generation. But in December, Warren repeated her pledge to serve out her Senate term. “I am not running for President,” she said.

Another huge factor in 2016 will be the rising generation of young immigrants whose activism propelled the DREAM Act.

Chitra Panjabi is a twenty-nine-year-old immigrant who was recently elected membership vice president of NOW. “My platform was diversifying the organization and reaching out to young feminists, feminists of color, and immigrants,” she says. The women’s movement needs to “make America better for everyone who lives here,” and tackle immigration, racism, and economic disparity.

“Two-thirds of minimum wage workers are women,” she notes. “The minimum wage of women at the federal level isn’t enough to take care of your family.”

Based inside the Beltway, but not active in Democratic politics, she likes both Elizabeth Warren and Hillary Clinton.

“Here are two strong, independent women who have amazing achievements to their name,” she says. “There are real women candidates out there. I think it’s an idea that still makes people uncomfortable.” For her, the issue is that Democrats “need to fight harder for ordinary women” by defending Social Security and the safety net.

Laurie Bertram Roberts is the mother of seven children and a “flyover feminist,” a term crafted by women in Oklahoma to denote red state activists.

Now thirty-five and at the tip of the

millennial generation, she is a doula and newspaper columnist in Jackson, Mississippi, though a native of the Midwest. She is also the president of the Mississippi chapter of the National Organization for Women, and she sits on the national board.

“I’m doing some work around birth issues because I’m in Mississippi and infant mortality is ridiculously high,” she says. “I think birth work is a feminist issue that feminists don’t talk about. Older feminists had their kids. They fought for *Roe* and birth just isn’t on their radar.”

Roberts is not keen on Hillary Clinton. When I raise the question of supporting her for President, she sighs and then points out that Bill Clinton “passed the worst welfare reform ever.”

Roberts says she’s confronting several different issues in her daily life right now. “I feel like everywhere, racism smacks me in the face,” she says. “I’m working on issues of class and poverty because I’m poor. I’m always working on those three things: birth, racism, and poverty.”

I ask her if there’s a national political figure she likes.

She doesn’t hesitate.

“I do love Elizabeth Warren,” she says. “She brings perspectives to the table that other people aren’t looking at. Liberal politicians don’t talk to people who don’t make a lot of money. We don’t exist. She doesn’t just say ‘middle class,’ which assumes we are all middle class. It decreases solidarity for people who should acknowledge we are the working poor. So I love her for those things.”

Amanda Bragg is president of the College Democrats at New College of Florida in Sarasota. Although from a small town an hour north of Tampa, she doesn’t identify with the red politics of the older, white residents of rural Florida.

Putting medical marijuana on the ballot is one of her goals, and fighting “for gay marriage and LGBTQ issues in general.”

“I’m very excited about Hillary Clinton,” says Bragg. “She’s one of my idols in politics. She’s just very good at what she does. But I’d also like to see Elizabeth Warren take a higher executive position. She is the voice of progressive Democrats and brings out the issues younger Democrats are interested in, things that affect us, like immigration, people who are trying to stay in school here. We see people being taken away because of a law that we see as arbitrary.”

She also stresses the harsh economic climate: “Young people have to work and need help along the way, not just health care but a job market that has room for college graduates to enter.”

Sharon Durkan is a Smith College senior from Georgia who is vice president of the College Democrats of Massachusetts.

She is also concerned about economic inequality and the threat to reproductive rights.

“I think those are really important to women of my generation,” she says.

About Hillary, she says: “I’m really inspired by her, but I’m excited to see who else steps up to run.”

That is exactly the position officially taken by Emily’s List, the group promoting pro-choice Democratic women for office.

“It’s not just Hillary. There is a deep bench of qualified Democrat women” who can run, if not in 2016 then in 2020 and beyond, Emily’s List proclaims on its website.

Last May, Emily’s List launched Madam President, a project promoting the idea of a Democratic woman candidate.

Among its contenders: Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota, who took what suspiciously looked like a campaign trip to Iowa in August 2013, Wisconsin Senator Tammy Baldwin, and New Hampshire Senator Jeanne Shaheen.

Some of the women on Emily’s List’s roster signed a letter organized by Senator Barbara Boxer of California urging Hillary to run, and ABC reported that all sixteen Democratic women Senators signed the letter.

But at least among the younger women I talked with, Hillary isn’t progressive enough to be their top contender. ♦

Classified Ads

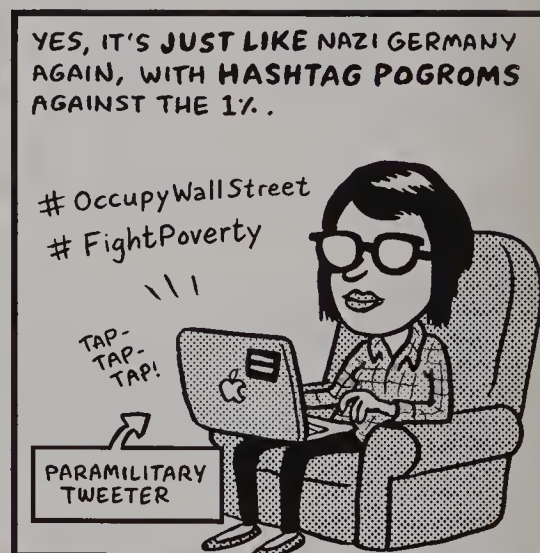
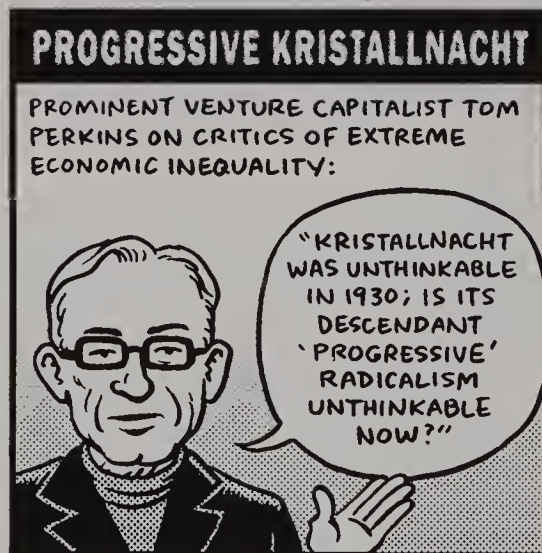
ProFlowers

Thrill Mom! Enjoy 50 Percent Off the All the Frills Bouquet \$19.99. Plus take 20 percent off your order over \$29! Go to www.ProFlowers.com/Royal or call 1-855-569-6694.

DISH Network

Starting at \$19.99/month (for 12 mos.) & High Speed Internet starting at \$14.95/month (where available.) SAVE! Ask About SAME DAY Installation! CALL Now! 1-800-443-6740.

SLOWPOKE © Jen Sorensen



THE PROGRESSIVE INTERVIEW

by Peter Dreier

Bill Moyers

Last October, Bill Moyers announced that he was retiring and that his weekly show, *Moyers & Company*, would end January 3. Three weeks later, in response to an outpouring of e-mails, letters, and Facebook comments urging him to reconsider, Moyers recanted. He will continue to host the show. His only pushback was to recast the show from an hour to a half-hour format.

Moyers, who turns eighty in June, has been one of the most prolific and influential figures in American journalism. Born in 1934 to dirt-poor farmers, Moyers left Marshall, Texas, in 1954 to attend college. At the University of Texas, he majored in journalism while working full time as assistant news editor for KTBC-TV for \$100 a week. He graduated in 1956 and then studied theology at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland and at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

In 1959, Moyers moved to Washington, D.C., to work for Senator Lyndon Johnson. Moyers was a founding organizer of the Peace Corps in 1961 and was appointed its deputy director by President Kennedy. After Kennedy was assassinated, LBJ brought Moyers to the White House as his assistant for domestic policy with responsibility for shepherding the task forces that led to LBJ's Great Society program. Moyers played a key role in helping LBJ pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In 1966, Moyers reluctantly

Peter Dreier teaches politics at Occidental College. His latest book is "The 100 Greatest Americans of the 20th Century: A Social Justice Hall of Fame" (Nation Books, 2012).



“I’ve lived long enough to see the triumph of zealots and absolutists, to watch money swallow politics, to witness the rise of the corporate state.”

agreed to be LBJ’s press secretary, but he found it increasingly difficult to defend the escalation of the Vietnam War.

“The things I really cared about—poverty, the Great Society, civil rights—were all being drained away by the war,” he recalled. “The line that keeps running through my mind is the line I never spoke: ‘I can’t speak for a war that I believe is immoral.’”

Moyers resigned from the White House in 1967 and became the publisher of *Newsday*, a daily newspaper that primarily served New York’s Long Island suburbs. He left in 1970 and took a 13,000-mile bus trip around the country, armed with a notepad and tape recorder, interviewing people for his best-selling book, *Listening to America: A Traveler Rediscovered His Country*.

That year, he began his long relationship with public television, interrupted by a decade (1976–1986) at CBS News. In order to maintain his journalistic independence, Moyers formed his own production company and raised all the funds for his many productions.

On public television, Moyers, a master of the long interview, had the freedom to craft his own programs, including *Now with Bill Moyers*, *Moyers on America*, *Bill Moyers Journal*, and, since 2011, *Moyers & Company*. He has interviewed important thinkers and activists rarely seen on television, including community organizers Ernesto Cortés, historian Howard Zinn, scientist René Dubos, philosopher Joseph Campbell, and theologian Karen Armstrong. He also produced hard-hitting investigative documentaries on a wide variety of topics, including the cost of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars on local communities, campaign finance, inadequate funding for public schools, the rise of the Religious Right, global warming, the dumping of hazardous waste, and, in *Buying the War* (2007), how most of the press corps became complicit in the Bush Administration’s invasion of Iraq.

“If the watchdog doesn’t bark,” Moyers said about the show, “how do you know there’s a burglar in the basement? And the press is supposed to be a watchdog.”

Moyers’s work has received three dozen Emmys and many other awards.

I caught up with Moyers in January. We spoke about his life, his career, LBJ, and his views about contemporary journalism and politics.

Q • You’ve announced your retirement three times, • then changed your mind. Why?

Bill Moyers: When I announced my retirement last October, it lasted all of seventeen days. I really meant it, but during that time thousands of viewers wrote to say, “Don’t go!” Reading

those letters, I felt like a deserter abandoning his comrades in the heat of battle. So, I took stock: My health is good. I like what I do and keep thinking the best is yet to come. I'm only seventy-nine. So over coffee one morning, my wife and I looked at each other and said: "Why not?"

Q: What gives you the will power and energy to keep up the fight?

Moyers: Somewhere I read, "There's another man within me that's angry with me." So, yes—I'm angry at what's happening to our country and angry with myself that I can't do more. I would be miserable if I couldn't bear witness.

Q: What role has your religious faith played in shaping your political views and your journalism?

Moyers: When I was growing up, I never heard anyone pray, "Give me this day my daily bread." It was always, "Give us this day our daily bread." That stuck. We're all in this together. I take "We, the People" seriously because I don't know how we build a civilization without reciprocity. There's a moral contract in that Preamble. And although I was brought up in a culturally and religious conservative culture, as a Baptist I was taught that no one has the right to subpoena your conscience.

Q: What muckrakers and investigative reporters do you most admire?

Moyers: The Mount Rushmore of muckraking includes Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair, and I. F. Stone. But if I could be anyone today, it would be Ambrose Bierce. Dennis Drabelle's new book, *The Great American Railroad War: How Ambrose Bierce and Frank Norris Took on the Notorious Central Pacific Railroad*, is a thriller about how Bierce was hired by William Randolph Hearst to take a SWAT team of reporters and editors to Washington to stop the very rich and ruthless Collis Huntington, the railroad baron, from bribing Congress and passing on to taxpayers the big loan he had obtained from the government. They beat him just as he was about to buy the last man. Oh, for that kind of impact today!

Now, there are fine investigative reporters at work today—on *The New York Times*, at McClatchy newspapers, *ProPublica*, the Center for Public Integrity, the Center for Investigative Reporting, and among independents young people like Andy Kroll and Lee Fang, to name just a couple. I consider *Mother Jones* to be a modern *McClure's* run by two terrific "investigative editors." All of these people share the conviction that news is what's hidden, everything else is publicity. And let me salute some of the muckraking films that I wish I had produced: Michael Moore's *Sicko* and *Capitalism: A Love Story*, Charles

Ferguson's *Inside Job*, and Alex Gibney's *Taxi to the Dark Side*.

The most important thing the giant philanthropies could do—Gates, Rockefeller, Ford, Open Society Institute, and new ones emerging—would be to create a \$2-to-\$3 billion Trust for Independent Journalism. They wouldn't miss the money, and democracy would still have a fighting chance because of their investment.

Q: In your long list of investigative reports, which ones had the biggest impact in terms of changing public opinion and public policy?

Moyers: *Trade Secrets* [a 2001 exposé of the chemical industry]. We dug into the industry's own archives to show how big chemical companies had deliberately withheld from workers and consumers damaging information about toxic chemicals in their products. The corruption was so deep and pervasive it was almost impossible to get our arms around it. But we did—thanks to a terrific producer, Sherry Jones—and it was so threatening to the industry that the companies struck back with a vicious counterattack. For one thing, it proved that I had the best funders an independent journalist could wish for! Every one of them—the foundations and my sole corporate funder for twenty-five years now, Mutual of America—refused to buckle when the chemical industry came after us. The industry hired a notorious public relations firm in Washington—staffed with private detectives and former CIA, FBI, and drug enforcement officers—to conduct a scurrilous campaign against us. But everything we reported held up, and a year later the documentary won an Emmy for outstanding investigative journalism.

Another favorite is *In Our Children's Food*, a *Frontline* documentary Marty Koughan and I produced that exposed how the chemical industry was attempting secretly to dilute the findings of a National Academy of Sciences study on the effects of pesticides on children. Even before it aired, the industry waged a campaign to discredit it, including a whispering campaign among TV critics who were likely to review it. A *Washington Post* columnist attacked it on the morning of the day it aired—without having seen it. He later confessed personally to me that his source was a top industry lobbyist! And believe it or not, even the American Cancer Society distributed harsh talking points about the broadcast before it aired—talking points provided by a public relations firm that worked for several chemical companies while doing pro bono work for the Society. After all that, I was pleased when the documentary won an Emmy for investigative journalism.

It's very difficult to measure the impact on policy of any investigative journalism. You hope it matters to let a little more truth loose in the world, but you can't always be sure it does. You do it because there's a story to be told. I can tell you that

the job of trying to tell the truth about people whose job it is to hide the truth is about as complicated and difficult as trying to hide it in the first place. Unless you're willing to fight and refight the same battles until you go blue in the face, drive the people you work with nuts going over every detail to make certain you've got it right, and then take hit after unfair hit accusing you of bias, there's no use even trying. You have to love it, and I do. You just hope it strikes a spark somewhere in the critical mass of public opinion and helps some people to resist further the seductions of political and corporate advertising.

So I tell young people in this work: Stay humble. One of our most powerful documentaries—*Capitol Crimes*, about the Jack Abramoff scandal—nailed how the youthful Grover Norquist and Ralph Reed came to Washington to lead a revolution and wound up running a racket. They're still at it.

Q: We've always had an upper class in America. What's different now?

Moyers: The rich today are richer, there are more of them, they have round-the-clock propaganda factories in Rupert Murdoch's empire and rightwing talk radio, and corporate media have their back. The massive upward distribution of wealth engineered by our political class over the last few decades has solidified the plutocratic control of the rule-making machinery in Washington and state capitals. The Supreme Court consistently favors organized money and the political privileges of the corporate class. We have a Senate that is more responsive to affluent constituents than to middle-class constituents, while the opinions of constituents in the bottom third of income distribution have no apparent effect at all on the Senate's roll call votes.

One of our two major parties is dominated by extremists dedicated to destroying the social contract, and the other party has been so enfeebled by two decades of collaboration with the donor class it can offer only feeble resistance to the forces that are devastating everyday people. Our economy is a plantation run for the aristocrats—the CEOs, hedge funds, private equity firms—while the field hands are left with the scraps. Go see Robert Reich's documentary *Inequality for All*. It's all right there.

Q: Some journalists and scholars think that the Tea Party is losing influence. Do you agree?

Moyers: They aren't going away. Anyone who thinks they are hasn't been to Texas or North Carolina lately. These zealots have dragged the delusional in from the margin and installed it as the motor driving their party.

Q: You've been pretty critical of President Obama. Do you think he's trapped in a system that stifles his progressive instincts—or that he's not really that progressive in the first place?

Moyers: I don't know what's in Obama's heart. How progressive was he? Was he sincere in those eloquent speeches? Who can say? I think that in many respects LBJ would find him a kindred spirit, especially on winning incremental reforms that further enlarge democracy. I have to confess, though, that the President strikes me as a man of strong principles and weak convictions—the kind of guy who would rather teach constitutional law than practice it, or who'd rather watch the match alone on TV than arm-wrestle his opponents.

“I didn't drift; I moved left just by standing still.”

There's hardly a more bitter pill to take than when a President disappoints the people who most believed in him. I can't forget the anguish of all those people who voted for Lyndon Johnson thinking they were voting against a wider war. So when we were covering the 2008 campaign I told my young African American colleagues that despite the historical significance of victory, he was going to break their hearts. They didn't want to hear that, and they refused to believe it. Eighteen months later they started dropping by one by one to say, sadly: “He broke our hearts.” A couple of them even wept.

It's not just that Obama compromised too easily. He treated too lightly the people and forces determined to destroy him. They spat in his face and didn't even get ticketed for a misdemeanor. You may remember that soon after his election in 2008, he went to Washington to have dinner with elite conservative pundits who had done everything in their power to defeat him and would in time do everything in their power to destroy him. That was the tip-off. He seemed to think he could win over his enemies. He certainly seemed to believe too much in his own powers of persuasion. One thing's for sure—he misunderstood the nature of his adversaries. Fate handed him the best of all political gifts—a dyspeptic, surly, spiteful opposition on the one hand and very unpopular financiers on the other—and he wouldn't come out punching, name names, or go for the jugular. It was as if while getting mugged by

guys with brass knuckles, he turned the other cheek. He even jeopardized his pledge to preserve women's rights under *Roe v. Wade* in order to get a health care bill written by the corporate lapdog Max Baucus and the gang of revolving door mercenaries he hired to write a bill friendly to industry. The President should have taken Baucus behind the shed and read him the riot act. Instead, he's sending him to China as ambassador. Go figure.

And now the candidate who campaigned for transparency is the President defending secret negotiations on new trade agreements that are largely being written by corporate lawyers and lobbyists. He would give corporations the key to the treasury while he gets the authority to fast track another hammering of working people and the environment. Yet the only people who get a real tongue-lashing from this President's White House are progressives around town who dare to call him on the carpet for abandoning his promises. He's waited too long to show the spunk he did in his recent State of the Union speech in finally telling the Republicans to shove off.

Q: What did you admire about LBJ?

Moyers: Lyndon Johnson was thirteen of the most interesting and difficult men I ever met. He could be as couth as he was uncouth, as magnanimous as malicious, at times proud and sensitive, at times paranoid and darkly uneasy with himself. Freud would have had a field day with him.

But I was there during those years when he had resolved to finish what FDR—whom he called “my second daddy”—had started: a strong social contract. He believed the poor deserved a better life than the economy was providing them. He thought private power and greed had to be checked by a vibrant democracy.

I was also there when he seized unexpected moments and made the most of them by doing the right thing. When he did the wrong thing—the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, invading the Dominican Republic, escalating in Vietnam—he remained the Cold Warrior, impulsively acting on unexamined premises and like-minded advisers.

Q: What's your view of the political influence of the conservative echo chamber, such as Fox News and Rush Limbaugh?

Moyers: They have raised ignorance to ideology and stupefied an entire political party. No more roguish and rowdy band of predators ever did more to demean and despoil the democracy on whose carcass they feed.

Q: You seem to have moved steadily to the left in the past decade—not only in your public comments and articles but also in your public ties to progressive groups. Is this an accurate assessment? If so, what inspired this leftward shift?

Moyers: Journalism's been a continuing course in adult education for me. And I've lived long enough to see the triumph of zealots and absolutists, to watch money swallow politics, to witness the rise of the corporate state. See the party of working and poor people become a sycophant of crony capitalism. Watch the union of church and state become fashionable again. Witness the coupling of news and entertainment. See everyday people cast overboard as the pirates and predators of Wall Street seized the ship of state. I didn't drift; I moved left just by standing still.

Q: Do you see any hopeful signs that America is ready to challenge the plutocracy and restore more democracy?

Moyers: The most encouraging sign is that 71 percent of the public believe the system is profoundly corrupted by the power of money. Ninety-six percent of the people believe it's “important” that we reduce the influence of money. Yet 91 percent think it's “not likely” that its influence will be lessened. Think about that: People know what's right to do yet don't think it can or will be done. When the public loses faith in democracy's ability to solve the problems it has created for itself, the game's almost over. And I think we are this close to losing democracy to the mercenary class.

There are people fighting back—that's encouraging. Bill de Blasio's victory in New York came about because long years of work by community organizers and advocates laid the groundwork for fighting back against the policies that rolled out the hospitality mat for billionaires and plutocrats while increasing the number of poor people.

What today's activists—the low-wage workers fighting Walmart, the immigrant rights activists, the Moral Monday activists in North Carolina, those fast-food workers who have stirred admiration and collegiality among serfs at large, and many more—have in common is a conviction once expressed by Robert La Follette: “Democracy is a life, and requires daily struggle.” If it weren't for them, I would despair. There's a scene in Conrad's *The Secret Agent* when the anarchist grows despondent over whether even the detonation of a bomb might arouse Londoners: “What if nothing could move them?” he asks. It's the people who are doing the nonviolent organizing at the grassroots that make me think there's still hope. ♦

A Red Card for Fútbol



In the lead-up to this year's World Cup in Brazil, the media has finally been paying some attention to the billions of dollars in waste, the forced removal of

people from their homes, and the protests and crackdowns that have ensued. The Brazilian government has come under much-deserved criticism.

But the power that orchestrated this financial and political calamity has by and large escaped scrutiny. The Fédération Internationale de Football Association, commonly known as FIFA, is one of the most corrupt, scandal-plagued pits of infamy in the history of sports.

FIFA's influence is as profound as its wealth. The exact numbers are unknown, but its former president, João Havelange, bragged in 1993 that the organization's bottom line was greater than that of GM, which was the world's biggest company at the time. The roots of this wealth lie primarily in FIFA's ability "to turn passion into commerce," as Eduardo Galeano has noted. The revenue streams are a result of selling every stitch of clothing on a player's body for ads and the merciless breaking of any player who dares speak about organizing players on a union basis.

In *Forbes* magazine's 2012 list of the

top forty paid athletes, only four are soccer players, despite soccer's position as the most lucrative sport on Earth.

FIFA has always hitched its profits to its ability to own the product, and that "product" includes the players themselves. Its desire for monetary control over the beautiful game knows no bounds.

In 1956, FIFA banned the Hungarian players who formed a rogue team after the USSR ran over their country



with tanks. In 1958, as Algeria fought for independence, Algerian players made their own team, including some who left cushy professional playing jobs in France to be part of the effort. Not only did FIFA have those players blacklisted and ban the team, but it also suspended Morocco for having the temerity to play them in a match.

During all of this political tumult, the World Cup first started being tele-

vised to a global audience. Not coincidentally, this was also when FIFA first started selling entire sections of player uniforms to international corporations for branding purposes. Players did not joyously accept their new role as walking advertisements for FIFA's corporate partners. Obdulio Varela, captain of the Uruguayan national team that won the 1950 World Cup, refused, saying, "They used to drag us blacks around by rings in our noses. Those days are gone."

In 1974, when Havelange took over FIFA, he declared, "I have come to sell a product named soccer."

Havelange was a Brazilian plutocrat who made his fortune in financial speculation, with a sideline in weapons sales. He told one member of the media that the part of soccer he loved most was not the beauty, grace, or even the winning. It was "the discipline."

Havelange loved those who shared his fetish for order and corporate rule.

Havelange also picked his own successor, Sepp Blatter, who has extended the Havelange way through scandal after scandal, rank sexism, and, above all else, the desire for "order" over justice.

Recently, the level of corruption inside of FIFA reached such a fever pitch that Blatter formed a "council of the wise" to clean up the mess. One of the leaders of this "council of the wise" was none other than Henry Kissinger.

FIFA's attraction to authoritarian rule and order at all costs will be on display this summer in Brazil.

For a relatively young democracy that reemerged twenty-five years ago after decades of dictatorship, that is really offside. ♦

Dave Zirin is the host of Sirius XM Radio's popular weekly show, "Edge of Sports Radio," and the sports editor for *The Nation* magazine. His newest book is "Game Over: How Politics Has Turned the Sports World Upside Down" (The New Press).

Christie, the Great White Whale



A vast me mateys. Off the starboard bow. Thar she blows. Chris Christie, I mean. And harpoons are flying in from multiple quarters. Back on the Jersey Shore, Hillary

Clinton's people and Rand Paul's folks are both partying so hard, Snooki and JWovw's buddies are banging on hallway doors demanding the noise be kept down to a dull roar.

Rumors that Governor Juggernaut was a petty and vindictive bully have rattled across the borders of the Garden State for longer than Captain Ahab hunted the White Whale. So when it was revealed that aides shut down two-thirds of the lanes on the George Washington Bridge to punish Fort Lee's mayor for not endorsing him, it sounded as believable as bolts on the neck of Baron von Frankenstein's little buddy. Funny thing is, when you think of the porcine politico and major arteries being clogged, traffic patterns are not what immediately spring to mind.

Christie, however, claims no knowledge of these nefarious paybacks. And attempted to prove it by ridding his

Will Durst is a nationally acclaimed, award-winning political comic. Go to willdurst.com to find out more about personal appearances, including Fighting Bob Fest this September.

staff of the guilty parties quicker than a shank thrust to the belly of a snitch at Rahway. If throwing people under a bus were an Olympic event, Chris Christie would have been waving from the top of the podium wearing a triple XL tracksuit in Sochi.

pains to appear authentically contrite and apologetic. As well as self-enamored. He's definitely a role model for that large group of plus-sized Americans big enough to have a bromance with themselves.



PAUL CORIO

Either Christie knew about the George Washington Bridge being closed and did nothing about it, which makes him a lying cretinous toad, or he had no idea that his staff was responsible for the four-day bridge closure, which makes him a frigging idiot. And nobody thinks Chris Christie is a frigging idiot. Especially Chris Christie.

At his monumental press conference, where he fielded questions from reporters for almost two hours, he didn't answer any of them, but he went to great

And now that there's blood in the water, the feeding frenzy has begun. Questions surfaced concerning personal friends getting big-time positions created for them. One friend squealed. There were reports of pressure applied for favored contractors. Possible misappropriation of Hurricane Sandy funds. And the bogarting of the shrimp buffet during the New Jersey executive branch holiday party.

Experts worry this could all end badly, with construction crews forced to remove the capitol rotunda so cranes can lift Chris Christie and his ego out to safety in order to undergo an operation that will staple together his lips.

Then again, the whole country should get down on its knees and thank God that when Governor Bridge & Tunnel did get into trouble, it wasn't for smoking crack like Toronto Mayor Rob Ford, or taking off his shirt like Vladimir Putin, or texting naked pictures of his junk to anybody. Wouldn't have been able to scrape that image off our collective retinas with a belt sander.

But don't worry about Christie. The best thing he's got going for himself is he's too big to jail. ♦

List of Demands (Because Anger Isn't Ladylike)

you will not waste me.
you will not fold me,
 hide me in your back pocket.
you will not lose me at the bottom
 of your laundry basket.
you will not fade my design,
 dim my bright,
 turn my shine into your shadow.

you will not excuse me.
you will not draw my figure.
you will not figure me out.
you will not wrap me
 in your self-made cellophane ego.
you will not suffocate me,

I will see through you.

you will not confuse me with your pet.
you will not pet me like your dog.
you will not dog me like we're boys.
you will not be boy at your age.

you will not drown me in the tide of your temper.
you will not outclap my thunder.
you will not strike me.
you are not lightning.
you are not likely
 to outright swipe me.

you

 will not crack my stone stare.
you will not break my glass parts.
you will not carve my calluses smooth,
 or hack my smoothness coarse.
you will not crash into my drive.
you will not ride my success
 without my permission.

I will not be written off as too angry,
 too feminist,
 too victim.

you will not diminish the light that brought your sinking
ship to shore,

 I stand too tall.
you will not swim through me.
 I will not swallow
 my wide.
you will not wade my coast with dirty feet.
you will not pollute me.
you will not use me as your clean slate

 to stain me with your repeated mistake.
you will not mistake my kindness
 as being blinded –

I will see through you.

you will not deflate me with your bloated sense of self.
you will not drain my flame to flicker.
you will not dilute my message,

I will not water this down.

you will not treat me like the child inside you,
 abuse me like I did what's been done to you,
 what you've done to yourself,
 what she did to your self-esteem,
 what he did to your mother,
 or whatever excuse you use to use me –

you will love me
 with every ounce of your weight,
 or you will leave me
 with my queendom in full bloom
 and whether you wither or grow
 in your own time—

you will not waste me.

—Sofia Snow

Sofia Snow is a poet in Madison, Wisconsin. She performed this poem at Fighting Bob Fest last September.

The FBI's Dirty War

The Burglary: The Discovery of J. Edgar Hoover's Secret FBI

By Betty Medsger.

Knopf. 608 pages. \$29.95.

By Chip Berlet

The documents that forced the Federal Bureau of Investigation to explain its surveillance of Martin Luther King Jr. and its disruption of activists throughout the United States arrived stuffed into plain tan envelopes in the spring of 1971. Reporter Betty Medsger opened one such package crammed with FBI documents at *The Washington Post* on March 23. The next morning, she had the first story about them in print.

The letter Medsger opened was from the "Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI." This anonymous group broke into the FBI field office in Media, Pennsylvania, just north of Philadelphia, and stole files. Enraged FBI officers never cracked the case. For her book *The Burglary: The Discovery of J. Edgar Hoover's Secret FBI*, Medsger convinced five of the eight participants to tell their story. Medsger crafts a skillful blend of journalism and history. Much of the book reads like a suspense novel.

The mastermind of the break-in was William Davidson, a physics professor at Haverford College, founded by pacifist Quakers. He recruited local anti-war activists John and Bonnie Raines, Keith Forsyth, Bob Williamson, and three others who chose not to appear in Medsger's book. Roughly half of the tome places the participants in the historic moment, explains their ethical and religious reasons for participating, describes the planning and conduct of the break-in, and chronicles the photocopying and distribution of the pilfered documents.

The Philadelphia area in the 1970s was a hotbed of peace activism centered on the Philadelphia Resistance group and people in the pacifist Catholic Left. The FBI was not the first federal office raided. By 1971, there had been a series of break-ins at Selective Service draft board offices.

Chip Berlet, on the board of the Defending Dissent Foundation, briefly edited the *Public Eye Magazine*. His wife, Karen Moyer, was illegally arrested on the Capitol steps in 1971. Browse an online supplement at <http://www.stopspying.us/burglary/>.



In Rochester, New York, peace activists attempted to steal files from an FBI field office, while destroying draft board files. They also disrupted the U.S. Attorney's office.

"We almost got away," recalls Ted Glick, who with seven others was caught, convicted, and sentenced to prison for twelve to eighteen months.

President Richard Nixon abhorred anti-war protesters. Other detractors labeled them subversives and traitors. Meanwhile, Nixon's FBI was shredding the Bill of Rights with a secret national scheme to break the back of the anti-war movement—including monitoring twenty-two colleges near Philadelphia alone.

Medsger describes FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as "frantic" about the raid in Media. In part, Hoover was worried that his massive secret war against dissidents (dubbed "COINTELPRO" in FBI jargon) would be exposed. The Philadelphia area quickly became ground zero for political repression.

"The FBI came down on us immediately," peace activist Sarah Forth remembers. Forth was deeply involved in anti-war resistance. Although not part of the burglary team, she believes the FBI especially targeted her for harassment because her then-husband, Glick, was in prison for the Rochester break-in.

The FBI "just occupied our entire neighborhood," Forth explains. "I would walk out the door and be surrounded by agents."

Attorney David Rudovsky agrees the Feds were aggressive and vindictive. Rudovsky filed several lawsuits against illegal spying in the 1970s. By the late 1970s, at least twenty-eight lawsuits were filed nationwide against the FBI, CIA, local police "Red Squads," and military intelligence units.

The hub of this spy network was the FBI Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO), launched in 1956 to

"expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" groups and individuals deemed subversive or potentially violent by the FBI.

Originally aimed at the U.S. Communist Party, COINTELPRO expanded to target socialists, black activists (labeled "hate" groups), anti-war protesters, student "agitators," and more. Hoover believed all were part of a plot coordinated from Moscow to destroy the United States and impose totalitarian socialism.

One COINTELPRO plot that failed was an effort to get the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. to commit suicide by threatening to expose his sexual liaisons.

Another project targeted the underground press, especially Liberation News Service. In his book, *A New Dawn for the New Left*, Blake Slonecker suggests that the Liberation News Service editor Marshall Bloom was driven to suicide in part by a COINTELPRO operation that could have exposed him as gay.

During the investigation of the Media burglary, FBI documents kept surfacing in the mainstream, underground, and college press.

Barry Holtzclaw remembers when the burgled FBI files arrived at the College Press Service offices near DuPont Circle in Washington, D.C. As news of government repression spread through the anti-war Left, federal government officials began fearing an open insurrection as hundreds of thousands of pissed off demonstrators streamed toward the nation's capital.

From April 18 to 23, 1971, Vietnam Veterans Against the War staged a series of dramatic events. On April 24th, the main rally produced estimates ranging from 200,000 to 500,000 participants.

Then came the "May Day" actions. Commemorating the first anniversary of the shootings at Kent State and Jackson State in May 1970, some 25,000 anti-war militants vowed to shut down

the city—and briefly succeeded with sit-ins and street blockades.

The militarized response by the federal government was ferocious. Some 7,000 people were arrested on May 1, 1971, alone—some simply for being on the streets. Scores were arrested on the Capitol steps listening to speeches by anti-war Congresspeople, including Bella Abzug, who repeatedly tried to get police to arrest her as well. In three days, more than 12,000 were arrested. A few were targeted.

Journalists Holtzclaw and Nick DeMartino of College Press Service were arrested while covering May Day. Carl Nelson, another College Press Service editor, was arrested for draft evasion and briefly jailed.

I volunteered. I was a College Press Service reporter in Denver, and chose to be arrested committing civil disobedience blocking the federal center there as part of a May Day action.

The times were fraught with such confrontations.

Medsger traces how the burglary created a cascading stream of events that prompted investigative reporting and focused public attention on reform.

Whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg forced the Pentagon Papers scandal in June 1971. CIA domestic spying operations were exposed. NBC News reporter Carl Stern first spotted the term COINTELPRO on an FBI document and filed a Federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request with the FBI. Stern revealed that the term COINTELPRO represented the vast illegal covert operation to crush political dissent. Stern and others pressured the FBI with lawsuits for years until the agency was forced to finally disgorge more than 50,000 pages of files in 1977.

Attorney Rudovsky explains that this growing pile of authenticated COINTELPRO documents allowed media reports and lawsuits to move for-

ward with a solid fact base.

For example, attorney Flint Taylor at the People's Law Office in Chicago knew of COINTELPRO from the Media burglary files. This bolstered the case concerning a deadly 1969 government raid on Chicago's Black Panther Headquarters. In 1976, the FBI wheeled shopping carts filled with thousands of files into the courtroom. The files showed the FBI supplied faked documents to local authorities to prompt the 1969 raid that killed Panther leader Fred Hampton and ally Mark Clark,

seriously injuring several others. This is documented in *The Assassination of Fred Hampton: How the FBI and the Chicago Police Murdered a Black Panther*, by attorney Jeffrey Haas.

A Senate Committee concluded in May 1976 that COINTELPRO's techniques were "intolerable in a democratic society" and a "sophisticated vigilante operation aimed squarely at preventing the exercise of First Amendment rights." The Committee said the FBI was wrong to think that blocking "dangerous ideas would protect the national security and

deter violence."

By 1977, a full-blown anti-repression movement was functioning. The Center for National Security Studies hired Harvey Kahn to get tens of thousands of COINTELPRO documents indexed on three-by-five file cards at FBI headquarters. Kahn, an editor at *Counterspy Magazine*, later co-founded the *Public Eye Magazine* with Sheila O'Donnell and Eda Gordon, who were researching connections between the FBI and private rightwing spy networks. In 1978, the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, a coalition of more than eighty groups, held a national conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan, recalls staffer Linda Lotz.

There were reforms but they were short-lived.

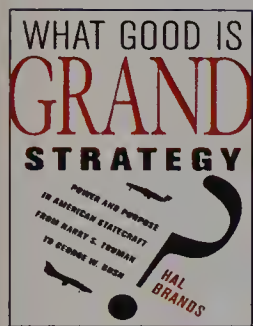
President Reagan unraveled them in the 1980s based on recommendations published by the rightwing Heritage Foundation. After the 9/11 attacks, the intelligence community returned with aggressive intent. *The Dangers of Dissent: The FBI and Civil Liberties since 1965*, by Ivan Greenberg, meticulously details the FBI misconduct summarized in Medsger's book. Greenberg's *Surveillance in America: Critical Analysis of the FBI, 1920 to the Present* chronicles recurring periods of domestic repression.

Break-in participants John and Bonnie Raines still warn that "we are living in a surveillance state." Reversing this is going to take a lot more whistleblowers, "especially from inside the intelligence services and the military," John says.

Bonnie agrees.

"Citizens need to be watchdogs," she says. We "have to demand that the structures in our government are seriously reformed and not just accept this fluff from Obama and others or no real changes will take place." ♦

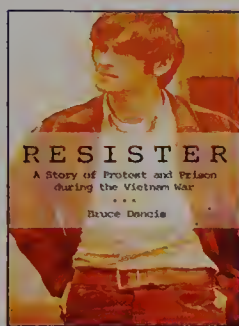
Politics and Social Movements from Cornell



What Good Is Grand Strategy?
Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush
HAL BRANDS

"What Good Is Grand Strategy? is a timely, historically based study of the good, the bad, and the ugly in American grand strategy in the period from Truman's administration to that of the latest Bush administration."

—WILLIAMSON MURRAY, COAUTHOR OF *THE IRAQ WAR*



Resister
A Story of Protest and Prison during the Vietnam War
BRUCE DANCIS

"Resistance to the draft helped restore honor to a misguided nation that invaded Vietnam, where it left millions dead. In his admirable memoir, Bruce Dancis casts light from fresh angles on the movement's inner life, the course of Cornell's radicals, and the imprisonment that was a price paid for honor."

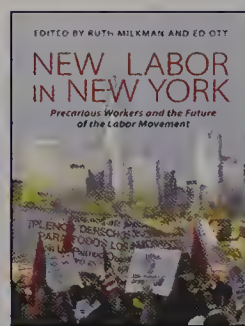
—TODD GITLIN, AUTHOR OF *THE SIXTIES*



New in Paperback
Behind the Kitchen Door
SARU JAYARAMAN
FOREWORD BY ERIC SCHLOSSER

"Few food workers have insurance or even sick leave, which is a problem not just for the workers; patrons also suffer when ill workers prepare and serve meals. This book will leave readers angry at the injustices detailed within, queasy about eating out, and much better tippers."

—LIBRARY JOURNAL



New Labor in New York
Precarious Worker Organizing and the Future of the Labor Movement
EDITED BY RUTH MILKMAN AND ED OTT

"New Labor in New York is a must-read for anyone who cares about the future of workers in the twenty-first century. This volume casts a wide net, capturing the struggles of immigrants and U.S.-born workers, low-wage workers and those more fortunate, as they confront the new realities of precarious work."

—RICHARD L. TRUMKA, PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS



1-800-666-2211 • www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

Antibiotics Gone Mad



triclocarban?

Chances are you have but don't know it. These two are antimicrobial chemicals, which might sound like a good thing, except that they disrupt the human body's normal regulatory processes.

Studies show that these triclos can be linked to the scrambling of hormones in children, disruption of puberty and of the reproductive system, decreases in thyroid hormone levels that affect brain development, and other serious health problems.

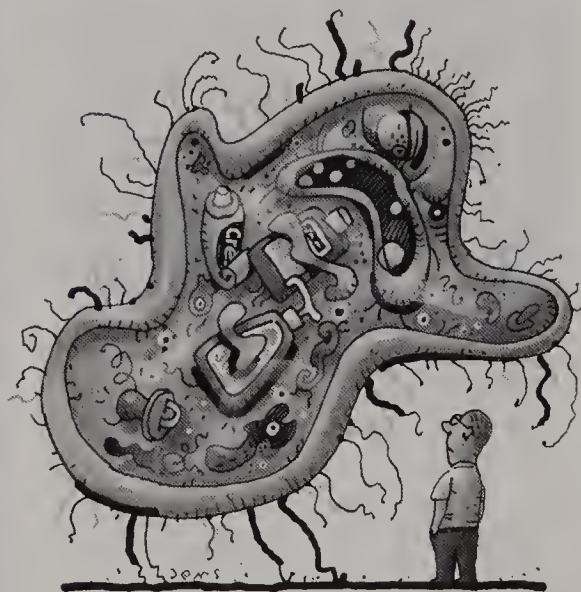
Yet, corporations have slipped them into all sorts of consumer products, pushing them with a blitz of advertising that claims the antibacterial ingredients prevent the spread of infections. The two chemicals were originally meant for use by surgeons to cleanse their hands before operations, but that tiny application has now proliferated like a plague, constantly exposing practically everyone to small amounts here, there, and everywhere, adding up to dangerous megadoses.

Triclosan and triclocarban were first mixed into soaps, but then companies went wild, putting these hormone disrupters into about 2,000 products, including toothpaste, mouthwashes, fab-

Jim Hightower produces The Hightower Lowdown newsletter and is the author, with Susan DeMarco, of "Swim Against the Current: Even a Dead Fish Can Go with the Flow."

rics, and (most astonishingly) even baby pacifiers.

Today, use of these chemicals is so prevalent that they can be found in the urine of three-fourths of Americans, reports *The New York Times*. They also accumulate in groundwater and soil, so they saturate our environment and eventually ourselves (one study found them in the breast milk of 97 percent of women tested).



JEM SULLIVAN

For decades, corporate lobbying and regulatory meekness have let this chemical menace spread. Aside from the direct health damage this is causing, the reckless spread of antibacterial products is also leading to an even worse nightmare: stronger, more aggressive bacteria that are immune to—get this—antibacterial products.

Oh, the irony!

Most ominously, this nightmare is currently ripping through our medical care system in the United States and around the globe.

Antibiotic medicines, long hailed as miracle drugs for their ability to battle infections and save lives, are turning out to be too much of a good thing.

Infectious bacteria themselves (one of the earliest forms of life on Earth) are miracles in their own right, with a stunning ability to outsmart the antibiotic drugs through rapid evolution. And the silly inclination of us supposedly intelligent humans to massively overuse antibiotic medicines has come a cropper. Every time we take an antibiotic to kill bad bacteria infecting our bodies, a few of the infectious germs are naturally resistant to the drug, so they create a colony of superbugs that antibiotics can't touch.

Multiply this colony by the jillions of doses prescribed for everything from deadly staph infections to the common cold, and we get the "antibiotic paradox": The more we use them, the less effective they become.

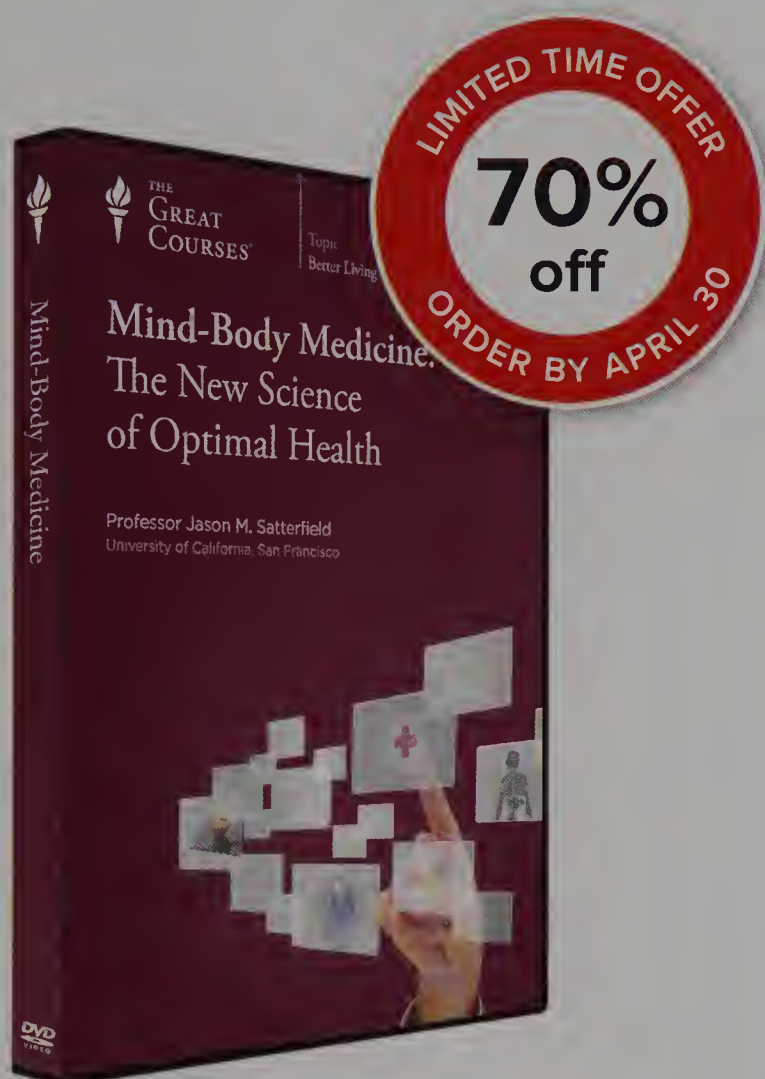
Antibiotics are invaluable medicines we need for serious, life-threatening illnesses, and we shouldn't be squandering them.

But drug companies are relentlessly pushing patients and doctors to reach for antibiotics as a cure-all. Millions of doses a year are prescribed for children and adults who have ailments such as common colds, flu, and sore throats.

Nearly all of these infections are caused by viruses, which cannot (repeat: cannot) be cured with antibiotics.

Taking an antibiotic for a cold is as useless as taking a heart drug for heartburn. The antibiotic will do nothing for your cold, but it will help establish drug-resistant superbugs in your body.

That's not a smart trade-off. In fact, it's incomprehensibly stupid. ♦



A Remarkable New Context for Health Care

In recent decades, science has revealed that the mind and body are intimately connected in ways we hadn't realized. In this compelling course, Jason M. Satterfield, a professor of clinical medicine and a specialist on the intersection of psychological factors and physical health, brings his deep knowledge of mind-body science and extensive clinical experience in its application.

These 36 eye-opening lectures offer you a comprehensive overview of the field, providing rigorous answers to the questions of what makes us sick, what makes us well, and what we can do about it. Professor Satterfield enriches the lectures with stories and case studies of patients, showing you how you can integrate their lessons into your health program and daily life.

Offer expires 04/30/14

1-800-832-2412

WWW.THEGREATCOURSES.COM/4PRO

Mind-Body Medicine: The New Science of Optimal Health

Taught by Professor Jason M. Satterfield
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO

LECTURE TITLES

1. Weaving the Biopsychosocial Braid
2. Vital Signs—Defining Health and Illness
3. Fight or Flight vs. Rest and Digest
4. Simmering Soup—The Neuroendocrine System
5. Deploying the Troops—Basic Immunology
6. Nature vs. Nurture—Genes, Health, and Disease
7. Forget Me Not—Cognitive Function
8. Mind over Matter—Cognition in Everyday Life
9. Emotions Revealed—Psychology of Emotions
10. Agony and Ecstasy—Biology of Emotion
11. What's Your EQ, and How Can You Improve It?
12. What's Your Type? Personality and Health
13. An Apple a Day—Behavior and Disease Prevention
14. Staying on the Wagon—Making Changes That Last
15. Ease the Burn—Modern-Day Stress and Coping
16. The Iceberg—Visible and Hidden Identity
17. Ties That Bind—Relationships and Health
18. Building Bridges—Intimacy and Relationships
19. Touched by Grace—Spirituality and Health
20. A Matter of Class—Socioeconomics and Health
21. A Cog in the Wheel—Occupational Stress
22. The Power of Place—Communities and Health
23. The Master Plan—Public Health and Policy
24. Heart and Soul—Cardiovascular Disease I
25. Heart and Soul—Cardiovascular Disease II
26. The Big C—Cancer and Mind-Body Medicine
27. Bugs, Drugs, and Buddha—Psychoneuroimmunology
28. Fire in the Belly—The GI System
29. Obesity—America's New Epidemic
30. The Strain in Pain Lies Mainly in the Brain
31. Catching Your Zs—Sleep and Health
32. Chasing Zebras—Somatoform Disorders
33. Seeing the Glass Half Empty—Depression
34. Silencing the Scream—Understanding Anxiety
35. Lingering Wounds—Trauma, Resilience, Growth
36. Tomorrow's Biopsychosocial Medicine

Mind-Body Medicine:

The New Science of Optimal Health

Course no. 1920 | 36 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE UP TO \$275

DVD ~~\$374.95~~ NOW \$99.95

+\$15 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

CD ~~\$269.95~~ NOW \$69.95

+\$10 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

Priority Code: 96155

For 24 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free mobile apps for iPad, iPhone, or Android. Nearly 500 courses available at www.thegreatcourses.com.



in·vest *verb* \in-'vest\

1. To commit (money or capital) in order to gain a financial return.
2. To spend or devote for future advantage or benefit.
3. *To devote morally or psychologically, as to a purpose; commit.*

At Domini, we believe it's possible to make money and make a difference at the same time. That's why all of our investment decisions are guided by two fundamental objectives: universal human dignity and the protection of our natural environment.

How do *you* invest?

Commit yourself to a greener, more peaceful future with the
Domini Social Equity Fund.

Domini 
SOCIAL INVESTMENTS®

www.DominiFunds.com

Investing for GoodSM

Scan to watch our video to
learn more about how responsible
investors are making a difference.



| 1-800-762-6814 |

Before investing, consider the Fund's investment objectives, risks, charges and expenses. Contact us for a prospectus containing this information. Read it carefully.

The Domini Social Equity Fund is not insured and is subject to market risks such as sector concentration and style risk. You may lose money. DSIL Investment Services LLC, Distributor. 12/13